

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12  
NEA-10 ACDA-12 HA-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /122 W  
-----092658 120530Z /15

O 120400Z APR 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0640  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01384

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECURITY COUNCIL STRATEGY

REF: A) USUN 1352, B) STATE 092410

1. CONTACT GROUP HELD ANOTHER BRAIN-STORMING SESSION  
AM APRIL 11 ON STRATEGY FOR UPCOMING SECURITY COUNCIL  
SESSIONS ON NAMIBIA. GROUP CONTINUES TO DISCUSS  
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STRATEGIC QUESTIONS IN ANALYTICAL AND FLEXIBLE  
MANNER, DISPLAYING A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ALL  
POSSIBLE APPROACHES. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY OPENED TODAY'S  
MEETING BY EXPRESSING HIS BELIEF THAT GROUP HAS BEEN  
BASING ITS STRATEGY ON FALTY ASSUMPTION. GROUP HAS  
ASSUMED THAT AN ENDORSEMENT OF OUR PROPOSAL BY THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL IS UNOBTAINABLE AND HAS, THEREFORE,

SET ITS SIGHTS ON THE OBTAINMENT OF A TEMPORIZING RESOLUTION -- ONE DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THE APPEARANCE OF MOMENTUM RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE MOVEMENT. EXPRESSING DEPARTMENT'S POSITION (REF B), MCHENRY WENT ON TO PROPOSE THAT GROUP SHOULD SET ITS SIGHTS ON THE ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY ENDORSING OUR PROPOSAL AS ENVISAGED IN ANNEX A. BY MAKING KNOWN THIS INTENT IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, WE WOULD THUS INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON ALL PARTIES FOR AN EARLY AND FAVORABLE REACTION TO OUR PROPOSAL. MCHENRY NOTED THAT GROUP HAD THROUGHOUT ITS EFFORT ON NAMIBIA ENVISIONED A TWO-STAGE APPROACH TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS APPROACH IS OUTLINED IN THE ANNEX OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL. MCHENRY ADDED THAT ALL HE WAS SUGGESTING WAS THAT FIVE STICK TO THAT APPROACH EVEN IN THE FACE OF PREDICTIONS OF SECURITY COUNCIL UNWILLINGNESS TO PASS AN ENDORSING RESOLUTION AT THIS TIME. BY PUSHING FOR ENDORSEMENT, GROUP MIGHT SUCCEED IN GENERATING ENOUGH PRESSURE TO PRODUCE MORE VIGOROUS FRONTLINE LEVERAGE ON SWAPO AND TO REDUCE PROBABILITY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN REJECTION.

2. DESPITE INITIAL CANADIAN AND FRENCH SKEPTICISM, GROUP WAS RECEPTIVE TO MCHENRY'S REASONING, AGREEING THAT RATHER THAN WAITING FOR REACTIONS OF THE PARTIES, WE SHOULD ACT TO STIMULATE DESIRED REACTIONS.  
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3. GROUP, THEREFORE, AGREED AD REFERENDUM TO INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON THURSDAY, APRIL 13. AT THESE CONSULTATIONS GROUP WOULD PRESENT ITS VIEWS ON HOW COUNCIL SHOULD PROCEED. WE WOULD EXPLAIN DESIRED TWO-PART SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION: (1) SC RESOLUTION REQUESTING THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL AND TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE; (2) AT LATER DATE SC ADOPTION OF THE REPORT. WE WOULD THEN PRESENT A WORKING PAPER CONTAINING THE FIRST RESOLUTION (DRAFT CONTAINED SEPTTEL) AND REQUEST A FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING FOR MONDAY, APRIL 17. THE INTERVENING WEEKEND WOULD ALLOW TIME FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH CAPITALS. IN ADDITION, THE GATHERING OF SECRETARY VANCE, AMBASSADOR YOUNG, UK FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES AND NIGERIA MIGHT PROVIDE CONVENIENT OPPORTUNITY FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS OF THIS MATTER.

4. IN ADDITION, GROUP AGREED THAT ALSO ON THURSDAY, APRIL 13 APPROACHES SHOULD BE MADE IN

FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, AND GABON AND MAURITIUS INFORMING THEM OF OUR INTENTIONS AND ASKING FOR THEIR SUPPORT. (DRAFT TALKING POINTS CONTAINED PARA 7.) AT SAME TIME, APPROACH TO SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD BE MADE IN CAPETOWN INFORMING THEM OF OUR INTENTIONS. (DRAFT TALKING POINTS SEPTTEL.)

5. IN COURSE OF CONTACT GROUP DISCUSSION, WE FOCUSED ON THE LIKELIHOOD THAT IN THE INFORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS SOME SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS WOULD OBJECT TO SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF NAMIBIA IN THE ABSENCE OF REACTIONS OF THE PARTIES AND PRIOR TO THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION. WE AGREED THAT RESPONSE SHOULD BE TWO-FOLD: (A) PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, A  
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SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNGA WILL BE NEEDED TO PROVIDE

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NEA-10 ACDA-12 HA-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /122 W  
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O 120400Z APR 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0641  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

FINANCING FOR ANY UN ROLE MANDATED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL; THEREFORE, IT MAKES SENSE TO BEGIN SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION PRIOR TO THE SPECIAL SESSION AND NOT AFTER IT; (B) THERE IS AN URGENCY TO SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DANGER OF AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" AND BY THE DANGER POSED BY UNPREDICTABLE AND INCREASINGLY TENSE POLITICAL SITUATIONS IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. IF OPPOSITION TO A DEBATE PERSISTS, WE COULD LET IT  
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BE KNOWN THAT IF DEBATE IS HELD, WE WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER NOT TABLING A RESOLUTION. WE COULD FURTHER TAKE POSITION THAT UNLESS SOME POSITIVE ACTION WERE TAKEN BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRIOR TO THE START OF THE SPECIAL SESSION, THE FIVE, WOULD BE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE SUBSTANTIVELY IN THE SPECIAL SESSION, LEST WE PREJUDICE OUR EFFORTS.

6. COMMENT: WE REALIZE THAT WE MAY HAVE PASSED ALONG CONFUSING SIGNALS BUT BELIEVE APPROACH IS NOW ON PROPER COURSE. GROUP REALIZES THAT THIS STRATEGY REPRESENTS SOMETHING OF A LONG SHOT. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT IT OFFERS SIGNIFICANT POTENTIAL. WE CANNOT EXPECT FAVORABLE OR EARLY PUBLIC RESPONSES FROM THE PARTIES UNLESS WE FORCE THEIR HANDS. BY SITTING BACK AND WAITING, WE ACCOMPLISH NOTHING. END COMMENT.

7. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT TEXT OF TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, GABON, AND MAURITIUS: BEGIN TEXT: AS YOU WILL KNOW, OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS FORMALLY TRANSMITTED OUR PROPOSAL TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MONDAY APRIL 10. OUR FIVE MISSIONS HAVE TODAY REQUESTED INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS OF THE COUNCIL, AND WE WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT IN THESE CONSULTATIONS WE ARE CIRCULATING A WORKING DRAFT OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD REQUEST THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA AND SUBMIT AT THE EARLIEST DATE A REPORT CONTAINING HIS RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION. WE ARE, IN OTHER WORDS, ASKING THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO PROCEED

URGENTLY WITH A RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD BE THE FIRST  
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STEP IN BRINGING OUR PROPOSAL FOR A SETTLEMENT INTO  
EFFECT. LATER, ONCE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS SUBMITTED  
HIS REPORT, THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A FURTHER MEETING  
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO APPROVE IT.

WE ARE ASKING MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS  
FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS, AND WE WOULD LIKE THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL TO BEGIN ITS FORMAL DELIBERATIONS ON  
MONDAY 17 APRIL. WE HAVE TAKEN THIS STEP BECAUSE  
WE REGARD IT AS ESSENTIAL TO PRESS AHEAD WITH OUR  
INITIATIVE AND TO DEMONSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH  
TO ACHIEVING AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. WE  
ARE ALSO VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE RISKS IN  
DELAYING AN APPROACH TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. TENSION  
IS RISING IN NAMIBIA AND FURTHER VIOLENCE IN THE  
TERRITORY COULD WELL MAKE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE  
SETTLEMENT MORE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE AND  
STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THOSE WHO FAVOUR AN INTERNAL  
SOLUTION.

WE WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE NOT IN ANY WAY TRYING  
TO PRE-EMPT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY, WHICH BEGINS ON 24 APRIL. ON THE CONTRARY,  
AN EARLY SECURITY COUNCIL DECISION TO AUTHORIZE THE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
COULD VERY MUCH HELP THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE SPECIAL  
SESSION. IN ADDITION, IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE  
ABLE TO MOVE SUFFICIENTLY RAPIDLY, THE SPECIAL  
SESSION MIGHT BE IN A POSITION, PRIOR TO ITS CONCLUSION,  
TO AUTHORIZE THE NECESSARY FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

WE ARE AT PRESENT EXPECTING THE REACTIONS OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO BE GIVEN TO OUR MISSIONS  
IN CAPETOWN IN THE COURSE OF NEXT WEEK. MEANWHILE WE  
HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS THAT THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT  
AND THE CHURCHES ARE ON RECORD AS SUPPORTING OUR  
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PROPOSAL; AND SOME PROMINENT SOUTH AFRICAN NEWSPAPERS  
HAVE COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE  
SETTLEMENT.

IT WOULD CLEARLY AFFECT BOTH THE CLIMATE IN WHICH THE

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SOUTH AFRICAN CABINET CONSIDERS ITS REACTIONS AND THE  
CLIMATE AT THE UN IF SWAPO WERE TO ANNOUNCE BEFORE  
THEN THAT THEY ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSAL. OUR INFORMATION  
ON SWAPO'S VIEWS IS CONFUSING. WE HOPE THAT YOU AND  
YOUR FRONT-LINE COLLEAGUES WILL DO ALL YOU CAN TO  
PERSUADE SWAPO TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSAL AT THE EARLIEST  
POSSIBLE MOMENT.

WE ALSO HOPE THAT WE CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE  
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COURSE OF ACTION WE ARE NOW PROPOSING AND ALSO THAT YOUR REPRESENTATIVES AT THE UN CAN IMPRESS UPON THEIR AFRICAN COLLEAGUES THE DESIRABILITY OF EARLY ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HAVE RECEIVED ONE OR TWO INDICATIONS THAT SOME MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN GROUP ARE OPPOSED TO ANY COUNCIL DEBATE UNTIL THE SPECIAL SESSION IS ENDED. FOR THE REASONS GIVEN ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THIS WOULD BE A SERIOUS TACTICAL MISJUDGEMENT.

ADDITIONAL TALKING POINTS IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS:

Q. IS THERE ANY POINT IN A COUNCIL DEBATE IF NEITHER SIDE HAS YET REACTED TO OUR PROPOSAL?

A. YES, AS WE EXPLAINED, WE WANT TO PRESS AHEAD WITH OUR INITIATIVE. WE ALSO WANT TO OBLIGE THE PARTIES TO REACT, AND NOT TO SEEK TO POSTPONE THEIR DECISION INDEFINITELY.

Q. WHAT HAPPENS IF SWAPO DECLINES TO REACT IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

A. WE HOPE THEY WILL REACT POSITIVELY AND QUICKLY. THEY WILL PROBABLY HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT OUR PROPOSAL; BUT AS WE EXPLAINED TO YOU EARLIER, WE CANNOT DEVISE A PROPOSAL WHICH IS COMPLETELY ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES, AND IT IS NOW A QUESTION OF POLITICAL WILL. WE WOULD STILL WANT TO GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL EVEN IF SWAPO HAS NOT YET REACTED.

Q. WILL YOU AGREE TO SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IF IT REJECTS THE PROPOSAL?

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A. WE HAVE NO INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, WHETHER ANY OF OUR GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE AN ADVANCE COMMITMENT ON A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION.

Q. ARE YOU PREPARED TO MAKE A STATEMENT THAT WALVIS BAY IS PART OF NAMIBIA?

A. AT THIS TIME WE HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE FIVE POWER MESSAGE HANDED OVER TO YOUR GOVERNMENT AT THE END OF MARCH ALONG WITH OUR PROPOSAL. END TEXT. YOUNG

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## Message Attributes

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